

THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

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SPECIAL REPORT
ANGLO-LIBYAN TRADE



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THE GREEN BOOK: Public discussions
This report is based on the texts of two public discussions held in London to consider the Green Book by Colonel Muammer Qadhafi. Contributors include: John Cartwright MP, Andrew Faulds MP, David Watkins MP, Dr Timothy Niblock and Dr David Pool.

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jamahiriya review

July 1980

Issue No 2

IN RECENT months relations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and Britain have been the centre of attention and controversy. In a special report Jamahiriya Review looks at the increasing level of trade between the two countries, which during the past few years have, in financial terms, taken a significant shift in Britain's favour—see page 17. However, political issues between the two countries continue to pose problems as our editorial—page 4—observes.

ON THE tenth anniversary of the evacuation of American forces from the Libyan Jamahiriya, Muammer Qadhafi made a major speech at a rally at Ras Lanuf. The Libyan leader urged the Arab nation to beware the threats now facing it, and called for urgent action to resolve the crisis in Lebanon. In recent interviews, the Libyan leader has also spoken out concerning Afghanistan, nuclear weapons, and French intervention in Africa. A review of Qadhafi's statements appears on pages 9 and 10.

VIOLENCE AND Revolutionary ideals—the title of a special study on Libya's Revolutionary Committees and how they see the need to confront those elements now plotting to overthrow the Libyan Revolution. A special correspondent discusses the role of the Revolutionary Committees within the context of the Jamahiriya's democratic system—page 11.

ONE OF the major achievements of the Al Fateh Revolution has been in the field of housing development, where the dual approach of a massive building programme and the political step of abolishing privately rented accommodation and making every tenant the owner of his home has combined to overcome Libya's crisis in housing. Report on page 15.

AT THE recent OAU summit important decisions concerning the future of the African continent were adopted. The common factor of the summit's resolutions was agreement on the need to confront foreign influences, which was the main theme of the Libyan Foreign Secretary's speech to delegates—reports on page 13. The summit also considered the Western Sahara issue, and Mohamed L'Amin, Premier of the Saharan Republic, presents his people's case—see page 14.

EDITORIAL

Whitehall's traditional views an obstacle to good relations 4
The dawn of a new age of colonialism 4

PANORAMA

A monthly review of Libyan, Arab and Third World news

Call to boycott American goods 5
Damascus conference warns of efforts to control Arab destiny 5
Palestinian liberation armoury includes missiles 5
Jamaica under CIA threat 6
Material aid for Zimbabwe 6
Libya moves to bring peace to Cyprus 6
Rebuke for Senegal 7
Europe's token gesture on Palestine 7
Sweeping changes on basic congress secretariats 7
OAPEC moves against South Africa 7

JAMAHIRIYA NEWS

Arabs must act on urgent issues says Qadhafi 8
Afghanistan and the nuclear bomb 9
France under fire for Africa policy 9
Egypt in proxy role for the US in threats against Libya 10
Violence and Revolutionary ideals 11

AFRICAN NEWS

OAU takes on major African challenges 13
Dr Treiki calls for pan African peacekeeping force 13

INTERVIEW

Western Sahara: Our right to independence 14

REVOLUTION IN ACTION

The battle against homelessness 15
Housing action programme 16

SPECIAL REPORT

Britain's trading partnership with Libya 17

TRADE IN BRIEF

Rapid growth in petrochemicals sector as Libya plans 44 new factories 19
Good wheat yield reported as agricultural output rises 19
New health centres will enhance medical care 19

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Whitehall's traditional views an obstacle to good relations

AS A special report on trade between Britain and Libya in this issue shows, the volume of British exports to the Jamahiriya should provide the basis for good, friendly relations between the two countries. The strength of these ties has not been good since the Al-Fateh Revolution in 1969 brought the removal of the Libyan monarchy which had ruled the country since nominal independence.

Until 1969 Libya's relationship with Britain had been one of a compliant regime subservient to its creator. The very basis of western exploitation of Libya's natural resources underlined the lack of respect which Britain had for Libya.

The years since the Revolution have been marked by Britain's reluctance to come to terms with the new situation in which the Libyan authorities' policies are determined by a criteria which puts Libyan national interests as a priority. Britain, like other former colonial powers, finds this situation difficult to accept.

Frequently over the past decade Libyan leaders and envoys have sought to improve relations with Britain. It serves neither people's interests that cordial relations and co-operation should be subverted. Libya's commitment to positive non-alignment does not bar good relations with Britain. What stands in the way of improving relations is the stance adopted by the British government both towards revolutionary Libya, and the wider Arab world and the Palestine question.

Despite recent actions by the British authorities, Libya's leaders have stressed to Britain their desire to improve relations between the two countries. However, it would be an affront to all Libyans if such developments were to be initiated so long as Britain provides refuge and encouragement to certain elements from Libya now based in London. By permitting these persons, many of whom are guilty of embezzlement of government funds and currency violations, to establish a base in London from which these illegally

obtained funds are channelled into efforts to overthrow the Libyan Revolution, Britain cannot avoid the charge of complicity in their actions.

The Libyan people are rightly indignant at the treatment they receive at the hands of the British authorities. On one hand decent law-abiding Libyan citizens are subjected to rigorous searches, detailed interrogation and harassment on entering the United Kingdom, while on the other hand those guilty of serious crimes are given hospitality by the British government. If British citizens were similarly treated in the Jamahiriya there would rightly be an outcry from the British people. And if Libya were to counter Britain's actions by giving support to dissident elements within the United Kingdom, Whitehall would be the first to complain of interference in Britain's internal affairs.

At the same time it is recognised that Britain, along with her EEC partners, is seeking to move towards a more independent role in international affairs. The British government is to be complimented on securing a just settlement based on majority rule and independence in Zimbabwe. And Britain does not have the same assertive foreign policy which is the hallmark of American and French activities in the field of international affairs.

These characteristics of British foreign policy are respected in Libya, and considered a good basis for the development of better relations between the two countries. Through the development of trade the Libyan people have shown that despite the problems mentioned earlier, there is no animosity towards Britain. However, the interests of the British people would be better served if the British government set aside traditional prejudices and worked for closer, friendly relations with the Libyan people.

Both the Libyan Jamahiriya and Britain have their own national interests to protect, and that in turn calls for Anglo-Libyan relations being secured on the basis of mutual respect.

The dawn of a new age of colonialism

THE ARAB world is today facing threats of foreign domination that are without parallel since the Arab states won their independence from the European colonial powers in the wake of the Second World War. To the east, the Americans are expanding their British-leased base in the island of Diego Garcia at an alarming rate. Other US military bases are being secured in Oman, Somalia and Kenya. In the west, the Carter administration is crudely pressuring Spain into joining NATO while the organisation is in turn urging Greece to return to its military command structure, which it left in 1974.

In the very heart of the Arab homeland, meanwhile, American armaments are pouring into the Zionist state and to support the Sadat regime, Washington's staunchest allies in the region. As if the American pincer movement from west and east and the cancerous Sadat-Zionist alliance in the centre were not enough, the French continue to meddle in the affairs of African states to the south of the Arab world.

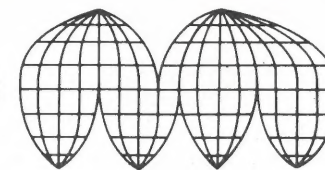
The pretext for America's provocative new emphasis on military might is that the Soviet Union is bent on seizing

Arab oil resources in the Arabian Gulf. But by what right does America claim to be the guardian of resources that are not its property, even if, as is not at all certain, the Russians were intent on seizing them? It is an Arab responsibility, and no one else's, to defend Arab land and Arab wealth.

The American threat on the edges and in the heart of the Arab world has a darker motive than a desire to safeguard the west's oil supplies. The intention is to create a network of bases and alliances from which the United States could act swiftly and decisively to quash any move by the Arabs that went against American interests. A case in point was Sadat's dangerous move in June to draw the Libyan Jamahiriya, a leading opponent of the American-sponsored Camp David accords, into a war with Cairo.

It is the dawn of a new age of colonialism in which the western powers, after a period of paying lip-service to the concept of the sovereignty of nations, are returning to the old policy of direct military intervention. There has never been a time when the Arab nation should be more on its guard.

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PANORAMA
news review

Call to boycott American goods

A BOYCOTT of American goods is to be launched by the Arab People's Congress, following a meeting of the organisation's Permanent Secretariat in Tripoli in early July. The APC embraces and co-ordinates over 100 progressive and popular organisations throughout the Arab world.

The major issue for the meeting remained the continuing intrigues of the United States against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. A statement issued by the Secretariat pointed out that a consequence of the Camp David process had been the escalation of Zionist settlements and terrorism in the 1967 occupied Arab territories, an upturn in the Israeli aggressions against southern Lebanon, a campaign of sabotage within Syria, and an increased threat of an Egyptian military assault against the Libyan Jamahiriya. The Camp David scheme offered the Arab peoples not peace but an increasing threat of war and conflict.

The statement warned against America's plans to re-assert her domination over the Arab world, and condemned plans for US military bases in Oman and elsewhere in the Arab region.

The APC's statement called for 23rd July to be observed as a day of protest against US and Egyptian policies, and announced a 'people's boycott of American goods'. The Congress would also campaign to 'secure political and trade union freedom and the release of Arab strugglers in Arab prisons and detention camps' of the reactionary regimes.

As part of its efforts, the APC will work to strengthen ties with world liberation movements, the progressive forces in western Europe, the United States and the socialist bloc led by the USSR.



The statement also warned that western Europe was working to present an alternative plan for Palestine which was designed to bring Arab regimes into the Camp David process. It deplored the fact that certain Arab officials were publicly supporting efforts to widen the Camp David process to involve Arab states other than Egypt.

Damascus conference warns of efforts to control Arab destiny

CONCERN OVER foreign, and particularly American, efforts to assert control over Arab thinking was forcefully expressed in Damascus in late June by Mr Mohammad Mahmoud Hijazi, the Libyan Secretary of Information.

He was speaking in the Syrian capital during an Extra-Ordinary Conference of Arab Information and Culture Ministers convened to con-

sider plans to counter Zionist and related activities to influence the Arab peoples.

Mr Hijazi warned that the Arab nation is passing through 'the most dangerous phase in its history', and referred to 'a savage and organised attack launched by colonialism'.

The aim of this attack was to control the Arab thought process and influence the Arabs' identity. The Arabs should not be concerned only with verbal propaganda against them, he warned, but should consider other manifestations of colonialism. He pointed out, 'The Arab nation now embraces a generation brought up by colonialism and which is culturally linked to it.' The result of this era had been to produce a generation more attuned to and sympathetic to western values than those of the Arab nation. As a consequence such people sought compromise in the interests of the West rather than protecting and strengthening the dignity and rights of the Arabs.

The Arab ministers gave their support to the Libyan

point of view, and agreed to assist Egyptian writers 'asserting Egypt's Arabism', and resolved to make an annual award for the best national Egyptian cultural work. The Conference also agreed to take practical measures to protect the popular heritage and antiquities in occupied Palestine now threatened by the Zionists.

Palestinian liberation armoury includes missiles

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has supplied the Palestinian liberation forces with missiles capable of striking more than 25 miles into Israel, according to Ahmed Jibril, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command. He was quoted by the Lebanese newspaper *As Safir* in early June as saying the weapons were designed to deter Israeli strikes against south Lebanon.

Jamaica under CIA threat

AGAINST THE increasing evidence of CIA intrigues to undermine Jamaica's progressive government, Prime Minister Michael Manley arrived in Tripoli on 1st June for talks with senior members of the Libyan administration. His visit follows earlier pledges of economic assistance by the Jamahiriya.

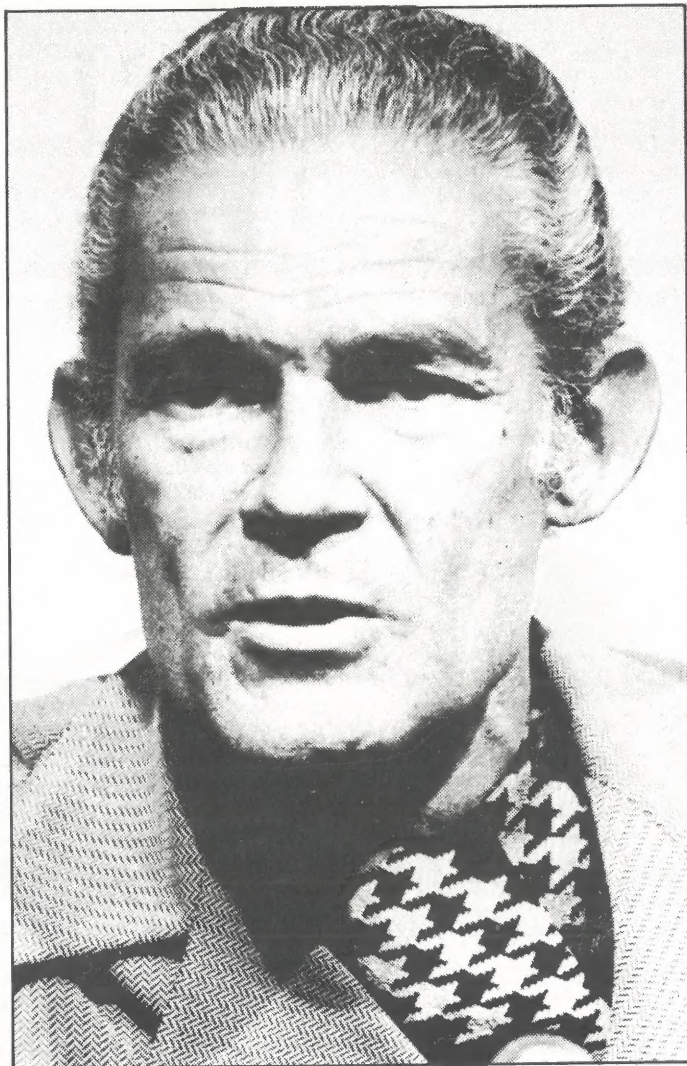
Elections in the Caribbean island state are scheduled for later this year, and Mr Manley's People's National Party will have a tough battle ahead to emerge victorious at the polls. At least that is the picture presented in the western media.

However, a defeat for the PNP is not certain. Mr Manley continues to hold the support of the impoverished sections of the community, who behind the façade of the island's tourist orientated image make up a significant section of the population. The economic problems which now threaten the PNP's future lie not so much with the reforms which Manley has attempted to implement, but subversion by wealthy Jamaicans and American multinationals, backed by the CIA. It is estimated that more than 300 million dollars were smuggled out of the island in 1976 alone, while in response to Manley's levy on bauxite production US controlled companies cut production, and the tourist industry was hit by a hostile press campaign in the American press.

Mr Manley's claims of CIA subversion on the island have been supported by Mr Fred Landis, an American expert in psychological warfare techniques used by the CIA. In a recent speech Mr Landis stated, 'There is a CIA psychological campaign going on in Jamaica on the largest scale in the world since Chile.'

He continued, 'The idea is to remove the government and put in its place some government which would go along with the plan of setting up a base against Cuba in Jamaica. Jamaica is just a strategic piece of real estate as far as these guys are concerned.'

He said it was common practice to categorise coup attempts as 'jokes or comic operas', adding that it was



Jamaican Premier Michael Manley: New threat from CIA

CIA propaganda strategy.

Mr Manley has pointed out in a recent *Newsweek* 'interview that in contrast to the western nations, financial aid from the Arab world has not been conditional on changes in policy. 'We do not negotiate or make deals with respect to our foreign policy,' he said. 'No Middle East country that has dealt with us — we deal with Algeria, Kuwait, Iraq and Libya — has ever asked us to make a

Material aid for Zimbabwe

A PROMISE of material aid for newly independent Zimbabwe has been made by a member of a Libyan delegation visiting Salisbury it was reported on 19th June. A 19-man delegation spent ten days in the African state during which they held talks with a number of government officials including Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

At the end of the visit it was

deal over foreign policy in return for financial co-operation.'

During his visit to Libya, Mr Manley held talks with Major Abdel Salem Jalloud and other Libyan officials, and took the opportunity of visiting a meeting of the Basic People's Congress during a session in Al-Andalus Square. Manley later remarked on the objective and responsible discussions which characterised the meeting.

announced that six members would remain in Salisbury to supervise the opening of a Libyan People's Bureau. The leader of the delegation told newsmen in the capital that Libya would provide material aid to Zimbabwe, but initial attention would be given to strengthening and expanding political ties between the two countries. He added that he believed that political ties will grow increasingly strong because both countries are committed to democracy and freedom.

During Zimbabwe's liber-

ation war, the Libyan Jamahiriya hosted frequent visits by Mr Mugabe, and provided military and financial support to the African movement.

Meanwhile in Ankara it was announced on 5th June that the newly created People's Bureau had been granted full recognition by the Turkish government, and in London the Foreign Office has made a similar announcement. Earlier during May it was reported from Tehran that Iran's Revolutionary Council has decided to promote diplomatic relations with the Libyan Jamahiriya to full ambassadorial level.

Libya moves to bring peace to Cyprus

THE LIBYAN Foreign Secretary Dr Ali Treiki has expressed a desire to visit Cyprus in the context of the Jamahiriya's interest in resolving the Cyprus problem, Nicosia radio reported on 20th June. In a telephone conversation the day before between Cypriot Foreign Minister Rolandhis and his Libyan counterpart, said the report, Dr Treiki declared he was ready to visit the Mediterranean island during July in an effort to resolve the dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots that came to a head in 1974 when Turkish forces landed on the island, leading to its division into Greek and Turkish sectors. Mr Rolandhis reportedly responded to the Libyan offer by saying he would be glad to receive the Jamahiriya's Foreign Secretary and that any help would be welcome, provided efforts to resolve the dispute were pursued under United Nations auspices.

Tripoli radio reported on 21st June that UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim had informed the Jamahiriya's UN delegate of UN backing for Libya's efforts over the Cyprus issue. Cypriot President Kiprianou and Mr Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, had notified the Foreign Secretariat of their willingness to attend a Libyan sponsored conference in Tripoli to resolve the Cyprus problem, which would also be attended by a UN representative, the report added.

Rebuke for Senegal

AS A consequence of the warning by Muammar Qadhafi of Libya's concern that certain Francophile African states were serving French rather than African interests, it has been announced in Tripoli that the Jamahiriya has decided to close its embassy in Dakar and conduct its relations with Senegal through the People's Bureau in Paris. JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, said on 28th June that the embassy had been closed because Senegal was 'a country totally subservient to France.'

Nevertheless, a sign that the Jamahiriya and France intend to repair their political relations has come with the 4th July announcement that the two countries are to restore normal diplomatic relations. In February the French embassy in Tripoli was sacked by angry crowds when French troops intervened in Tunisia to put down the Gafsa uprising. It is reported that the Jamahiriya has offered to cover the expenses of repairs to the French mission.

Europe's token gesture on Palestine

THE LONG proclaimed European Initiative on Palestine failed to materialise at the end of the Venice summit meeting of the nine heads of state of the EEC nations during June. Instead the European leaders, under pressure from President Carter, produced a document which reiterated previously declared EEC policy on Palestine, and which on analysis fails to embrace most of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions defining the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In Tripoli, Mr Omar Hamdi, the Libyan born Secretary of the Arab People's Congress Permanent Secretariat expressed his regret that the summit had 'proved the Western European countries' subordination to American policy,' a reference to Washington's threat to veto any new European resolution which the EEC had been



President Carter with Premier Thatcher in Venice: US warns Europe over Palestine.

expected to put to the UN Security Council.

Although the EEC declaration called for the PLO to be involved in future discussions on the Palestine question, and referred to the Palestinians' right to self-determination, it failed to recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and made no reference to their right to self-determination 'in an independent sovereign state'. Nor did it call on the evacuation of Zionist forces from the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

PLO leaders have said that although the Declaration is an advance on the traditional European stand towards Palestine, it failed to deal with the essential basic problems contributing to the conflict.

Sweeping changes on basic congress secretariats

IN THE latest round of meetings to select secretaries and assistant secretaries for Libya's basic and municipal people's congresses — the local structure of government in the Jamahiriya — sweeping changes

have taken place. The selection meetings began on 29th April and JANA, the Jamahiriya New Agency, reported 'very high' attendance of Libyan citizens at the basic people's congress sessions at which candidates were put forward. Also on the agenda at these meetings was the selection of citizens to sit on the people's committees which exist in each area to supervise in specialist fields such as housing, education, and industry.

At the level of basic people's congresses 78 secretaries failed to be re-selected and were replaced by new persons, although 79 secretaries gained the support of the community in their bids to be re-selected. Another 14 persons previously in the posts of assistant secretaries were selected for the post of secretary. Four more people were removed from posts as secretary of municipal congresses, but were selected for the same post at the basic congress level.

Greater changes occurred in the selection of assistant secretaries of the basic congresses. By 17th June, 118 new people had been selected for these posts, along with the re-selection of a further 48, while 3 former secretaries were reselected at the rank of assistant secretary.

In the selections for municipal congresses, 14 secretaries were re-selected, while only five assistant secretaries held their positions. Twenty new assistant secretaries were selected.

The selected secretaries and assistant secretaries will attend the next session of the General People's Congress, the Jamahiriya's national legislature which will formalise important decisions relating to Libya's next five year development programme. However, the provisional plan has yet to be published, and presented to the local congresses for debate. All Libyan citizens are entitled to attend these meetings.

OAPEC moves against South Africa

ARAB OIL producers decided on 7th June to take new measures to prevent their oil reaching South Africa. Meeting in Algiers, the nine-nation Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) also agreed to go ahead with a project to build a dry dock in Algiers. It already operates one in Bahrain, one of several joint development projects in the Arab world.

A communiqué said: 'The council (of ministers) commissioned the general secretariat of OAPEC to undertake the necessary studies to tighten the boycott measures against the racist regime of South Africa and to submit the necessary recommendations in the next meeting.' That meeting will be held in Kuwait on 10th December this year.

No OAPEC oil is officially sold to South Africa but, as trading experts point out, oil is difficult to trace once it is on the high seas. OAPEC sources said the measures envisaged at the Algiers meeting would probably involve trying to do this more effectively and to ensure that contracts contained no loopholes to enable oil sold to third parties to flow to South Africa.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's partners in OAPEC are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Algeria, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Syria.

Arabs must act on urgent issues says Qadhafi

THE ARAB Nation must not close its eyes to the crisis which confronts it. This was the message of Muammer Qadhafi in a speech at Ra's Lanuf on 11th June, held to mark the tenth anniversary of the evacuation of US forces from Libya. He urged action to resolve the conflict in Lebanon, and warned that US bases on Arab soil could involve the Arabs in an international conflict which was not their concern.



Arabs cannot stand aside on Lebanon conflict says Qadhafi

WHEN MUAMMER Qadhafi rose to speak to the crowds who had gathered at Ra's Lanuf on 11th June, international attention was focused on the Libyan revolutionary leader. In the months which have followed the Camp David accords signed between Egypt and Israel, the Libyan Jamahiriya has emerged as the most determined opponent of the American inspired alliance.

The Libyan leader's speech at Ra's Lanuf was of special significance, for it marked the tenth anniversary of the evacuation of the American forces based on Libyan territory, and the fulfillment of a major step towards the Revolution's commitment to non-alignment and the removal of all foreign military presence from the country.

Yet, as Muammer Qadhafi stressed, although Libya could now celebrate the liberation of her territory from foreign forces, within the Arab world foreign influence and military presence remains to subvert Arab progressive movements. In particular, he attacked the United States and said that as a consequence of Libya's actions in 1970, the Americans had spent the past ten years establishing themselves in Egypt and strengthening their influence in other Arab countries.

Special tribute was paid by the Libyan leader to the sacrifices made by the Lebanese people, who Qadhafi said had 'endured more than any other Arab people for the Arab cause and the Palestinian issue.' He added, 'The Lebanese

territory is now the only territory suffering to support the Palestinian resistance. The Lebanese people are paying the price in blood and lives as a result.'

It was clear that Qadhafi's remarks were addressed beyond the crowds before him when he asked, 'Why does the Arab nation not appreciate this historic pan-Arab stand of the Lebanese people? Why are the Lebanese people alone being subjected to this aggression, and why does the Arab nation not take collective action to repel the Israeli aggression on Arab Lebanon?'

'The Palestinian issue is an Arab issue, and all Arabs must accept responsibility for it,' declared Qadhafi.

The Palestinians had a duty not to become involved in Lebanese affairs, but other Arab states working through front organisations in Lebanon had a responsibility for creating the crisis in Lebanon which had forced some Christians to seek the Zionists as an ally.

Colonel Qadhafi called for an Arab summit meeting to consider the Israeli violation of Lebanese territory and the problems confronting the Arab country. Not only that, but he demanded that the Arabs should act on their resolutions to restore peace to Lebanon.

He urged the Arab nation to 'act collectively for the success of a plan of national political reconciliation in Lebanon, so that a national government is set up and harmony restored amongst the communities of the Lebanese people.'

The Libyan leader urged the Arabs to recognise that so long as American forces remain on Arab territory the Arab people will not be free to determine their policies freely and in the interests of the Arab nation. It was a tragedy, he continued, that when one Arab state advanced to defend Arab integrity, another would retreat in the face of American pressure.

Qadhafi warned that there was more at stake than the issue of territorial integrity. 'If a superpower such as the USA uses military force in the Gulf region, this will lead to another power opposed to the USA doing so too.' This would inevitably lead to the Arab peoples becoming involved in an international conflict which was of no concern to them. The move by Oman to provide military bases for the United States, Qadhafi described as 'this grave matter which threatens the independence of the Arab nation, and on which we cannot remain silent.'

However, if American designs in the Arab world threaten the prospect of a new conflict, Libyans should not ignore the fact that not all Arabs were freed from conflict and aggression.

The Libyan leader said, 'While we are happy because we have triumphed over colonialism on Libyan soil, the Lebanese people are being subjected to daily aggressive raids on their land. Towns are destroyed from land, sea and air. The skies, the land and the sea of Lebanon are being violated before the very eyes of the Arab nation, which is not lifting a finger.'

Afghanistan and the nuclear bomb

IN A recent interview with David Sells of the BBC TV programme 'Newsnight', Colonel Muammer Qadhafi was questioned about his view on the situation in Afghanistan, and the claims that Libya is financing the production of a nuclear bomb in co-operation with Pakistan.

The programme dealt primarily with the activities of Libya's revolutionary committees, and the threat to the Jamahiriya from Egypt.

Most disturbing was the manner in which the BBC deliberately censored the Libyan leader's remarks to substantiate their own preconceived ideas and malicious intentions to subject Colonel Qadhafi to ridicule. Many of the points which the BBC presenter injected into the programme to permit his own comments to be introduced were at no time put to the Libyan leader. At the same time, statements made by Colonel Qadhafi, which were contrary to the image which the BBC wished to project, were cut from the programme.

The following are the comments made by Colonel Qadhafi on Afghanistan, the alleged Pakistan nuclear bomb, and relations with the PLO.

BBC: I would like to ask about the Islamic countries. What do you think of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan?

Qadhafi: First and foremost, I am basically against any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of [other] countries. In this case I respect the will of the Afghani people, who have the right to do what they consider suitable.

BBC: By Afghani, what do you mean, the President?

Qadhafi: The side which has the power, whether it is the people or the government. I cannot interfere in this case.

BBC: Many Islamic countries condemned the intervention.

Qadhafi: I think this is not due to their stance, but it is the result of pressure by the US, which wants to keep these states under her domination and to exploit these countries against the Soviet Union. The US has used the Afghani issue as a pretext.

BBC: Do you sympathise with the Soviet intervention?

Qadhafi: I did not say this. What I said is basically that I am against interfering in other countries' internal affairs. In the case of Afghanistan I respect the will of



French troops in Chad—an affront to African independence

France under fire for Africa policy

A STRONG attack on France over its policy in French speaking African countries came from the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi on 26th May, when he addressed African ambassadors and representatives of liberation movements in Tripoli on the occasion of Africa Day.

Colonel Qadhafi said, 'Imperialist policy is aimed at continuing to exploit Africa and keeping the Africans underdeveloped.' He said imperialist countries were determined to make the independence of African states a fiction.

'For example, France still considers the French-speaking African group as colonies. It is a French tradition to convene these countries each year so that France may make sure they follow its policy,' he said. Imperialism was

trying to keep its languages in official use in Africa to preserve imperialist interests.

'On this 17th Africa Day, I accordingly wish to declare that we do not recognise either the French or English language,' he added. 'We recognise only our original African languages, namely Arabic, Hausa, Swahili, and Amharic.'

He said that if France confined its aid to French speaking countries, then Libya would consider restricting Libyan financial assistance to states which received no French aid.

Qadhafi said Libyan participation in the African Co-operation Fund and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa amounted to about 200 million dinars (\$59 million). He said France's continued leadership of French speaking African states would prompt Libya to consider moving all representation to Paris. In turn, the French embassy in Tripoli would be looked upon as the representative of these countries' interests.

□ See 'Rebuke for Senegal' in Panorama News Briefing.

the Afghani people, who have the right to do what they please.

BBC: You are the hero of the Islamic revival. How can the financial aid for the development of nuclear weapons match with your Islamic ideology?

Qadhafi: First and foremost, there is no co-operation whatsoever between us and Pakistan in this respect. We are against nuclear war and against nuclear weapons and their proliferation. We support all arms limitation agreements. You must know that relations between us and Pakistan have deteriorated since the execution of Bhutto. There is no co-operation between us and Pakistan in this respect, and we are against these policies. This is our policy.

BBC: Was there no co-operation even during Bhutto's rule?

Qadhafi: No. I think Pakistan is still far from reaching that stage when it can make an atomic bomb.

BBC: You are a staunch supporter of the Palestinians. However, it seems you have strong differences with Fatah and the PLO too. So what is the situation following Fatah's conference in Damascus?

Qadhafi: We have no differences with Fatah. Our relations are good and we support them from time to time. We have our particular viewpoints, and they have theirs. This does not mean we have grave differences for the PLO depends on Libya. Our policy is co-ordinated mainly regarding international issues.

MILITARY MOVES in Egypt in late June aroused speculation that once again the Sadat regime was preparing to invade the Libyan Jamahiriya. What are Sadat's motives for a scheme which has been condemned throughout the Arab world?

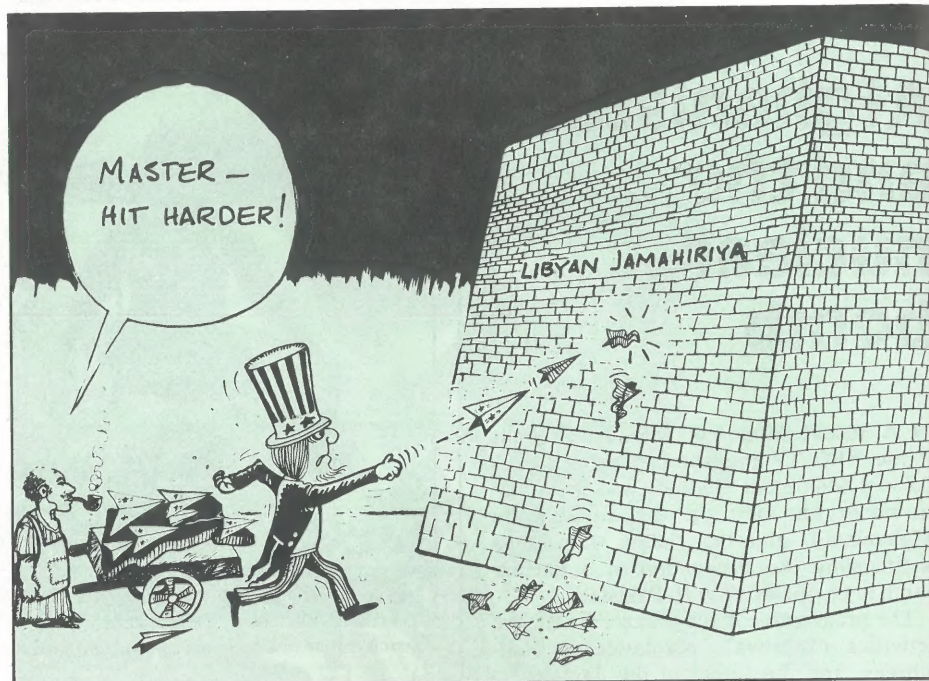
IN LATE JUNE the spectre of a second war between Libya and Egypt loomed over the Western Desert, where once before in July 1977 the Sadat regime launched a four day military assault on the Jamahiriya. The new threat to Libya became obvious when on 18th June Sadat announced that martial law, lifted in Egypt only on 14th May, was to be reimposed along the Libyan frontier. In a follow-up to the announcement, Egypt moved to mass six infantry, six armoured, and three airborne brigades along the Libyan border, backed with a number of warplanes and forty naval vessels just outside Libyan territorial waters.

Two factors appear to have influenced Egypt's hostile move. First Sadat is concerned at mounting opposition to his regime's policies, both domestic and with regard to his alliance with Israel and the United States. Secondly, Egypt, with her American and Zionist partners, is currently engaged in a campaign to destabilise Arab countries opposed to the Camp David accords, and the Libyan Jamahiriya is the most determined of opponents and a clear target for such intrigues.

Although Sadat claimed his move was in response to the call from Muammer Qadhafi for Egyptian troops to overthrow the Cairo regime, the provocative Egyptian moves suggest that Sadat's motives were more than he cared to make public. In particular there was speculation that the move was designed to distract the attention of the Egyptian people away from the regime's disastrous handling of the economy and Sadat's suppression of all opposition to the peace treaty with Israel by arousing a tide of Egyptian nationalist fervour.

In a report from its Cairo correspondent *The Guardian* pointed to resentment by Egyptians at the extent to which Sadat has thrown himself into the arms of the Americans as another factor behind the Egyptian leader's aggressive stance: 'It is suggested in some political circles,' said the paper, 'that [the purpose of Sadat's move against Libya] is to draw attention away from growing concern here at American military involvement in Egypt—or to justify it'. The paper added, 'There is much private criticism of, and concern at, Mr Sadat's militancy'.

The Egyptian provocation against Libya may also have been intended to draw the Jamahiriya into a war designed to remove Libya's military capacity. It would suit



Egypt in proxy role for the US in threats against Libya

Egypt's interests, and those of Israel and the United States, to strike such a blow at a leading opponent of the Camp David accords, which involve the imposition of a *Pax Americana* on the Middle East at the expense of the Palestinians' national rights.

The Libyans responded on 18th June to the Egyptian move by declaring it 'tantamount to a declaration of a state of war'. The provocation was identified as an attempt by Sadat to divert attention from Egypt's 'grave internal problems'. The United States was blamed of complicity, a not unreasonable contention in view of Sadat's close identification with American interests in the Middle East. 'When he plans for aggression and declares a state of war, he does so in obedience to American decisions,' declared the Libyan Foreign Secretariat statement. To back up the claim of US involvement, Libya cited 'American military provocations against the Libyan people through naval and air exercises staged off Libya's coast; repeated violations of Libyan airspace by military aircraft of the American Mediterranean fleet, in addition to other violations and air reconnaissance; establishment of American land, sea and air bases and permanent deployment of American forces in Egypt; huge arms supplies to the Egyptian regime at a time when the world and America knew that Egypt was more in need of wheat than of arms; and joint military preparations by the Egyptian regime and the United States, in the form of joint training and exercises.'

The Egyptian troop build-up was swiftly condemned throughout the Arab world: Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organisation pointed accusing fingers at Wash-

ington, and Algeria also denounced Sadat's action. The Palestinians, Syria and Algeria along with Democratic Yemen, are linked with Libya in the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, which is vehemently opposed to the Camp David process. On 22nd June the political committee of the Front met in Tripoli and pledged to confront Egypt collectively in the event of an aggression against the Jamahiriya. Libyan Foreign Secretary Dr Ali Treiki said the Front's members 'decided that any aggression on Libya will be regarded as an aggression against all of them.'

Libya's allies in the Steadfastness Front, however, were not the only Arab states to rally to her side. The Jamahiriya's ambassador to Abu Dhabi, Abdul Qader Ghoqat, reported on 30th June that the United Arab Emirates had given its full support to Libya against the Egyptian provocations. Mr Ghoqat said, 'The UAE considers the state of emergency declared by Egypt on its western borders with Libya as a dangerous issue and harms the higher interest of the Arab nation.' He also reported the UAE's wish that all Arab forces be concentrated against the common enemy in occupied Palestine.

In the event, and no doubt much to Sadat's chagrin, the Jamahiriya has responded to his provocative moves with restraint. Libyan forces were placed on full alert and the country's hospitals were made ready to receive war casualties, but no move was taken that would have offered the Egyptian ruler the excuse he needed to launch an attack. But while this latest attempt to undermine the opponents of Camp David failed, it will no doubt not be the last.



Muammer Qadhafi hailed as Leader of the Revolution, but he cautions on issue of violence and the role of the Revolutionary Committees

Violence and Revolutionary ideals

WESTERN COMMENTATORS attempting to analyse the role and activities of the Revolutionary Committees in Libya during recent weeks have most often failed in their task because of their lack of any real understanding of the political system which now operates within the Jamahiriya. Contrary to fact, they work from the assumption that Libya's political system is like others in the Third World, and operates from the dictates of the Head of State, where all actions are those determined by the country's leader.

Against the norm of politics, Colonel Qadhafi's fundamental approach to democracy is that power should be removed from its traditional bases and devolved into the hands of the ordinary people, whether it be the power of central government, industry or the local municipality. It was to fulfil this concept of democracy that the Sebha General People's Congress in 1977 approved a system based on people's committees and congresses through which the ordinary citizens could influence and determine the country's social, economic and political priorities and policies.

With the convening of the General People's Congress in 1979, Qadhafi resigned from all positions he held within the civil political administration. The Revolution was to be separated from the people's authority and civil administration.

Given that the decision-making process was now based on democratically expressed opinions within the basic, municipal and general congresses, revolutionary

THE KILLINGS of two Libyan citizens in Britain and others in Italy and Germany have focused attention on the activities of the Revolutionary Committees in the Libyan Jamahiriya. In this special report we look at the role of the Revolutionary Committees within Libya's political system, the implications of their activities, and the debate within the movement on the question of violence.

committees were independently formed to act as ideological groups within the community—in effect to lobby for decisions to be taken based on the principles of the Al Fateh Revolution which Muammer Qadhafi had led in 1969.

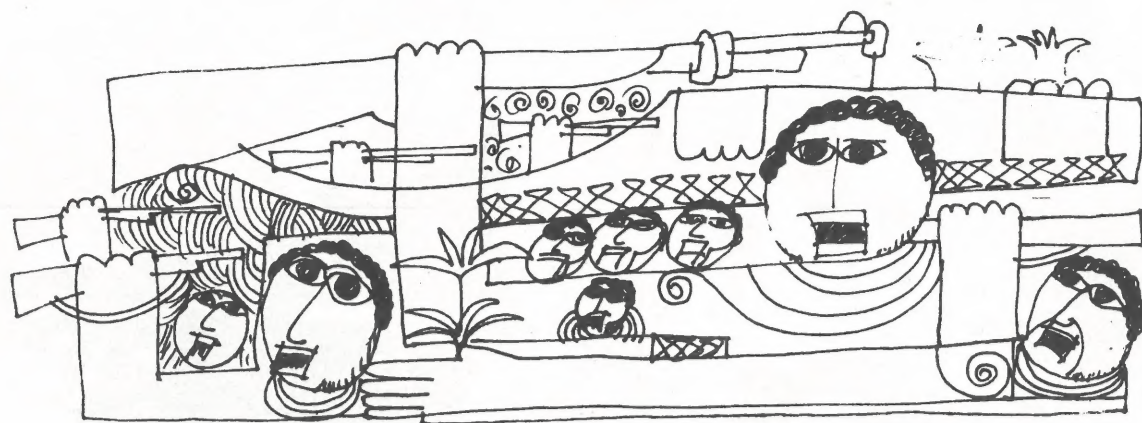
In early 1980 a convention of the revolutionary committees was held in Benghazi, and amongst the decisions taken was that to confront opponents of the Libyan Revolution living abroad, and to expose citizens guilty of corruption within the country.

In the wake of that conference the revolutionary committees initiated

a campaign which led to the exposure and public interrogation of Libyans accused of corruption. At the same time the revolutionary committees embarked on their campaign to deal with opponents living abroad. Some of these people had left Libya to avoid persecution for embezzlement and corruption, others because they found it impossible to exploit Libya's wealth and to profit in commerce and trade as they had done under the monarchy. The introduction of partnership in industry and commerce had effectively removed their opportunities for profiteering under the capitalist system. Once abroad the two elements found a common cause—to plot to overthrow the political system which now pursues the implementation of a socialist orientated system.

Libya is not special in seeing such people as subversive and criminal. In any country citizens who embezzle money and break currency regulations along with those who plot to overthrow the government are considered as criminal elements.

It was against the background of Qadhafi's assertion that 'criminal elements' should be brought to account for their crimes, that the Revolutionary Committees embarked on their campaign. If Qadhafi's words could have been construed to mean that opposition should be physically eliminated, the Libyan leader responded to point out that this was not what he meant. On 20th May the Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA) put out a notice in its daily bulletin in



Revolutionary Committees debate issue of violence in their weekly newspaper Al-Zahf Al-Akhdar

which it said that the press had 'misinterpreted' Qadhafi's speech. The Libyan leader, they pointed out, had used his right to clarify the meaning of his statement in an interview with NBC. Qadhafi stressed that he had not sought the physical elimination of the revolution's opponents, but that he had called on Libyan exiles to return home, where he had promised to protect them from 'the wrath of the Revolutionary Committees'.

As Qadhafi pointed out in his BBC 'Newsnight' interview, 'These people have stolen huge amounts of money from public funds and banks. A large number of them held responsible posts in banks and public firms at different times, and have committed crimes. Then they fled Libya following the Revolution when the people took over the authority. They should have been tried in Libya. The Libyan people are entitled to pursue them. The Libyans and Revolutionary Committees see such action as reasonable and right without bringing personal revenge. I am not responsible at all for this action, the whole responsibility lies in the hands of the people and those of the people's congresses and committees.'

If Muammar Qadhafi as the leader of the Revolution has set down the principles of the government through the texts of *The Green Book*, he stresses that it is not within his control how those principles are enacted, or defended.

In his 'Newsnight' interview Muammar Qadhafi also sought to raise another issue — that of the support which Libyan exiles are receiving from foreign governments in their schemes to overthrow Libya's revolutionary system. When Sir Anthony Acland of the Foreign Office in London flew to Tripoli recently it was put to him that Britain's actions in providing refuge for such elements was difficult to construe in any way other than support for a group of individuals whose purpose is to stage a *coup d'état* against the Revolution. The names of those individuals

accused of crimes in Libya was given to the British envoy. It was pointed out that Britain's co-operation with such persons was no less an interference in Libya's internal affairs than if Libya were to provide support for the IRA — and perhaps it was more so.

Apart from wrongfully accusing Muammar Qadhafi of complicity with the killings, the critics have also failed to recognise that Libya is a country at war. It is involved in the Arab struggle to liberate occupied Palestine, and is one of the most determined of Arab countries that this goal should be achieved. In doing so the Libyan Jamahiriya stands against not only the Zionists but also the United States and her Arab ally Egypt. Decisions within Libya, whether by Colonel Qadhafi, Libyan citizens through their congresses, or members of the Revolutionary Committees, are influenced and taken against the background of a war situation.

Contrary to the image given of Libya in the western media, the Jamahiriya is not a police state. The moral codes of Islam may distinguish life from western societies, but the Libyan Revolution, in contrast to other Arab and Third World countries, is not marked by limitations on the freedom of speech. The political system developed as the basis of the Jamahiriya is designed to encourage free speech and criticism of government.

Nevertheless, given that Libya has determined to confront the forces of the Zionists and the western interests which support the Zionist state in Palestine, it would be foolhardy to ignore the potential military threat of her enemies, or the subversive activities of foreign intelligence organisations. Any country which finds itself in a conflict situation is forced to take measures which in normal circumstances of peace would not be considered.

The Revolutionary Committees in Libya have admitted responsibility for their

actions in killing counter-revolutionary individuals who readily confess their intentions to overthrow the Libyan Revolution. Such a plan obviously has the backing, financial and moral, of western imperialist interests. Countries engaged in war have undertaken such activities — the CIA does not even need a war to be declared to engage in such practices. Why should the western press proclaim abhorrence at these acts while it remains silent at the daily killings of Arabs in southern Lebanon by the Zionists, or at Sadat's actions against the Egyptian opposition, or at the killing of black children by South African police?

The weekly ideological newspaper of the Revolutionary Committees, *Al-Zahf Al-Akhdar* has published different opinions on the issue of revolutionary violence. Some columnists have supported the execution of individuals considered to be traitors, but others have argued to the effect that the Al Fateh Revolution must progress through winning the hearts and minds of the people to its principles and ideals.

Speaking at Ras Lanuf, Qadhafi called on the Revolutionary Committees to abandon their assassination campaign against Libyans abroad, although he warned that Libyans proven guilty before Libya's revolutionary courts should be punished for treason.

Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Committees argue in their weekly newspaper that to provide firm foundations for Libya's revolutionary society based on the Islamic concepts presented in *The Green Book*, it is necessary to assert within the framework of the Jamahiriya's democracy, that political, social and economic decisions must be based on a new revolutionary criteria, and not those of the old regime, or societies based on traditional structures and values. They see their task as promoting and explaining these new values to ensure a new generation of Libyan citizens whose concepts are motivated by Islam and socialism.

A UNANIMOUS call for the return of the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia to Mauritius and an ultimatum to King Hassan of Morocco over the Western Sahara were the major outcomes of the Organisation of African Unity summit which ended in Freetown, Sierra Leone on 4th July.

Diego Garcia was detached from Mauritius by the British shortly before Mauritian independence in 1968 and London then provided a £2 million grant to the Mauritians in exchange for the removal of the island's few hundred inhabitants. The British established a military base on Diego Garcia and this is now being expanded by the Americans into their principal base in the Indian Ocean region as part of the current plan to strengthen the US presence and influence in the Arab Gulf region.

The initiative for the island's return came from Mauritanian Premier Sir See-woosagur Ramgoolam, who told the summit that his government supported the development of the Indian Ocean as a 'zone of peace'. He said, 'We are watching helplessly the growing tension in the Indian Ocean where the superpowers are racing against time to overbuild their respective strengths and armaments, leaving in their trail the inherent dangers that such actions carry.'

In a strongly worded statement, the summit endorsed the Mauritian Premier's claim to the island and called on Britain to return it unconditionally to Mauritius. The resolution declared that 'The militarisation of Diego Garcia is a threat to Africa, and to the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.' It concluded: '[The summit] demands that Diego Garcia be unconditionally returned to Mauritius and that its peaceful character be maintained.' The summit also adopted a

OAU takes on major African challenges

THE OAU Summit meeting in Sierra Leone adopted a series of resolutions which could lead to a major political confrontation with western backed schemes in Africa, and the Libyan Jamahiriya has urged that Africa must deal with her own security problems.

resolution demanding the removal of bases and other big-power military installations in the Indian Ocean.

The debate over the Western Sahara was extremely acrimonious and threatened to split the OAU down the middle over the issue of the admission to its ranks of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), declared in exile by the Polisario Front who are waging a guerrilla war against Morocco in the region. The phosphate-rich former Spanish colony was annexed by King Hassan on its evacuation by Madrid in 1976, precipitating a war for independence by its Sahrawi people. The SADR has so far been recognised by 37 states.

Twenty-six of the 50 OAU member states declared themselves in favour of SADR admission but Morocco, along with at least 11 other western-influenced states, threatened to quit the organisation if the move went ahead. They argued that under the OAU's Charter, admission could be

attained only by a two-thirds majority vote.

The threatened split of the OAU was averted by a Nigerian sponsored decision to refer the issue to a special working group, to resolve the question within three months. The hope is that the working committee will come up with a solution involving a cease-fire and the holding of a referendum in the disputed territory. If the Moroccans continue to refuse a referendum a number of states currently opposed to SADR admission to the OAU are likely to change their position. In effect, then, the summit issued a challenge to King Hassan to negotiate a settlement with the Polisario Front. On his past record, this he is unlikely to do and it seems probable that the OAU's unity will again come under pressure over the issue later this year, although it will probably then be only Morocco that threatens to leave.

The summit also adopted a series of resolutions on the Palestine question, throwing its full weight behind the Palestinians' demand for an independent state. The OAU protested against the 'Judaisation of Jerusalem' and linked 'racist Zionism' with 'racist South Africa'. The summit reaffirmed its commitment to 'the struggle of the front-line Arab states and the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation'. The African states also rejected 'partial agreements and separate treaties which violated the recognised national rights of the Palestinian people', a reference to the American inspired Camp David accords.

Dr Treiki calls for pan African peacekeeping force

AFRICANS MUST accept responsibility for maintaining peace on their continent and oppose the intervention of the former colonial powers. Towards this end, the African states should secure the end of foreign military bases on their soil. This was the message of the Libyan Foreign Secretary, Dr Ali al Treiki, when he addressed the conference of the OAU in Freetown on 4th July.

Dr Treiki referred to the 'very critical stage' of Africa's history and development. While he welcomed 'the victory lately achieved by the people of Zimbabwe', he urged Africans to recognise that there are 'still many parts of the African continent under colonial rule.'

As a consequence of SWAPO's liberation struggle in Namibia, the racist regime in South Africa had launched attacks against Angola and Zambia. And the apartheid regime was also involved in the genocidal war against the people of the Western Sahara. Dr Treiki said the Libyan Jamahiriya believed that the Saharan Arab Republic had a legitimate right to membership of the OAU.

On the subject of Chad's internal problems, he urged support for the legitimate government, and condemned foreign colonial powers whom he accused of seeking to 'recolonise the Chadian peoples'. To resolve such problems, Dr Treiki stressed the necessity of setting up an African force to defend the continent and to restore

peace and security. But first Africans had to 'liberate their countries from colonialist military bases which, he said, were being used to attack struggling nations in Africa.'

He also urged African states to recognise that the struggle in southern Africa was intrinsically linked to the Palestinian struggle against Zionism.

Dr Treiki also spoke about the economic situation in the continent, saying that political independence will remain incomplete so long as economic independence is not fully achieved. The resources of the continent, he said, are still being enjoyed by the colonialist powers, while its mines are still being exploited by them, and the distribution of oil resources remain a monopoly of Western enterprises which control the energy resources of the continent.

African countries, said the Libyan Foreign Secretary, must assume their responsibility in promoting economic co-operation, and achieving full economic integration as an essential step towards Africa's liberation.

Q: We need to know who exactly are the Polisario?

A: The word is originally Spanish and it means the National Front for Liberation of Sanguiet-el-Hamra and Rio de Oro. It is a political organisation and a national liberation movement comprising all elements of the desert people. The front was established on 10th May, 1973, following the failure of peaceful attempts to gain independence from the Spanish occupation authorities. In other words the front was established to take up armed struggle against Spanish imperialism in the region.

Q: It is claimed in Morocco that you are no more than scattered desert communities gathered from Mali, Niger, the Algerian desert and Mauritania, affected by the drought that afflicts the deserts in those parts, which joined a small community of the Sahara desert and established your front. What do you say about this claim?

A: We are Arab Muslims through and through. Yet the rest of the world, including our Arab neighbours, were little acquainted with this region of ours. Despite our national movement directed against the Spanish rule, we are surprised to find Morocco and Mauritania claiming their sovereignty over the region.

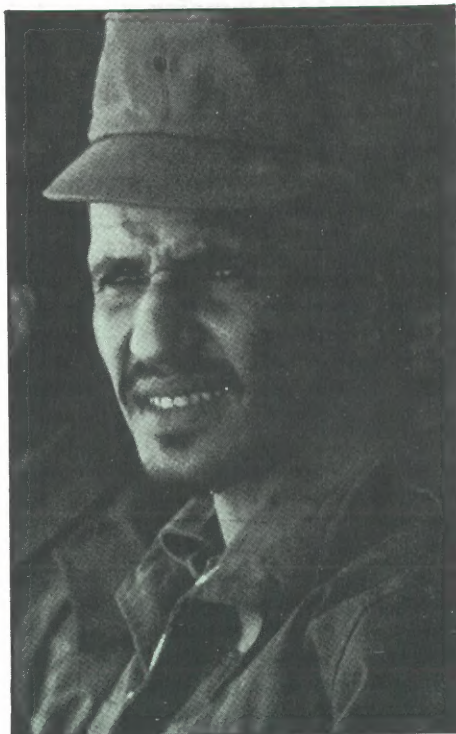
In 1974, however, in order to avoid unnecessary factions, we asked for a referendum in which the people of the region could voice their opinion and determine their own destiny. Unfortunately events were overtaking us and the situation grew out of hand at accelerating speed.

As for the size of our population it is admittedly small but it was large enough to confront 60,000 Spanish soldiers. Understandably Spain was trying to give an impression that ours was too small a population as this would render our case insignificant. It should be stated, however, that 40,000 of our desert people used to live in Mauritania.

As for Morocco's sovereignty over the Sahara let me tell you that Spain's occupation of the desert began in 1884 when Morocco was an independent country with a Sultan ruling, and there are no documents to establish that Morocco then had moved a finger or voiced its protest against the Spanish occupation of the desert. Moreover, when Morocco gained its independence in 1956, why was the Sahara left under foreign occupation if it was part of Morocco? Indeed this continued to be the case for 20 years after Morocco's independence. The same applies to Mauritania.

As a matter of fact when the case was submitted to the International Court of Justice as a Moroccan-Spanish dispute on the one hand and a Mauritanian-Spanish one on the other, the court ruled neither Mauritania nor Morocco had sovereignty over the Sahara. Again, how can it be that the desert belonged to Morocco when Morocco allowed Mauritania to share the desert with it? Of course

Western Sahara: Our right to independence



Premier Mohamed L'Amin

THE POLISARIO Front is presently engaged in an 'independence war' against Morocco backed by the United States. In a remote location in the Sahara Abbas Al Tarrabili conducted this interview with Mohamed L'Amin, Prime Minister of the Saharan Democratic Republic, and a leading member of the Polisario Front.

the same argument can be applied to Mauritania for it would not have agreed to share the Sahara with Morocco if the former's claim over the region were genuine.

Sovereignty as we know it is an integral indivisible whole. Our people have been the victims of strategic considerations. In this respect I would like to state that Spanish occupation over 92 years did not result in the murder of as many people as Morocco's army killed in one week. Yet we have stood our ground and for five years the new invaders have not been able to get the better of us. The

Moroccan soldier is brave enough but he is not convinced of the case he is fighting for. The proof is that 75 per cent of our arms we have captured from Morocco's army.

Q: There is some dispute concerning the size of your population. Morocco claims that the desert's population had numbered 73,400 when the Spaniards left, while you claim otherwise. Obviously such a small population is not enough to justify the establishment of a state.

A: The answer is not all that hard to find. The Spanish had an occupation force of about 60,000. So if our population had been only 73,000, we would not have been able to force the Spaniards out. Moreover, we stood firm against Morocco's army which numbers about 45,000 in addition to the Mauritanian army which we fought and which comprises 20,000. The Spaniards belittled the size of our population in order to belittle our case but they never succeeded in making a comprehensive census and for the very same reasons we have not been able to do the same. However, in our assessment the population is over half a million. At any rate, the size of the population aside, even ten thousand people have the right to self-determination. Today we are a state recognised by 39 countries.

Q: Out of the 39 only three Arab states recognise you. How do you explain this?

A: I was assigned in 1974 to deliver a message to the Arab countries asking them to help us in driving the Spaniards out but I was told in Cairo, through Arab League officials, that Spain was a friend of the Arabs and its friendship should not be lost.

Q: We have heard of Arab as well as non-Arab mediation but so far we have not seen any constructive outcome. Why?

A: The failure of these mediations is mainly due to the fact that they overlook the rights of the desert people. As for us, we are anxious to prevent any more bloodshed. Indeed we have stopped all military actions against Mauritania following the change in the Mauritanian stand. Apart from that, I am not aware of any new mediation move, but I can say that any move of this nature which does not take into account the rights of the desert people is bound to fail.

Q: What about American mediation?

A: We have received many American delegations. But can you put out a fire by pouring oil on it? The American logic is very strange. While they talk of peace in North-West Africa they pour the most sophisticated arms into Morocco.

Q: You are extremely well armed yourself and it has been claimed that the Soviet Union is your supply source.

A: We obtain no military support from the Soviet Union, direct or indirect. Libya and Algeria help us, but the bulk of our arms come from Morocco itself. We are a liberation movement independent of both Moscow and the US. Indeed we have been recognised by countries classified as rightist.



Zwawiyat Al Dihamani Housing Community in Tripoli

The Battle against homelessness

THE CHRONIC housing situation inherited by the revolutionary government that assumed power in Libya in 1969 might have caused a less enthusiastic and energetic group of rulers to throw up their hands in despair and opt for a programme of gradual improvement. Not so Colonel Muammer Qadhafi and his colleagues. In the housing sphere, no less than in others, development schemes of breathtaking proportions became the order of the day. Dedicated to the accelerated social and economic development of their country, the provision of adequate housing for the entire population was a matter of the highest priority. The personal commitment to this goal was emphasised by Colonel Qadhafi's pledge that his own parents would move into a decent home only when all other Libyans had been housed adequately.

In 1969 there were an estimated 300,000 dwelling units in Libya but there was a total of 365,000 families in the country. No less than 65,000 families were thus homeless. Moreover, many of the housing units were sub-standard and included more than 120,000 shacks and caves. In common with other developing countries, Libya had experienced a massive drift of population from the countryside to the cities. Vast shanty towns of corrugated iron huts had sprung up on the outskirts of Tripoli, the capital, and Benghazi.

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's housing achievements since the 1969 Revolution are marked by two important characteristics. Not only has the Revolution made great advances in solving the once acute housing shortage, but also opened new opportunities for every family by forbidding property speculation through renting surplus housing stock on the principle that every tenant has the right to own his own home.

In the six years that preceded the revolution, only 26,000 housing units were constructed, in both the public and private sectors, with an annual average of 5,217 units. By 1969 there were only 2.88 units per thousand individuals.

This poor performance record is reflected in the outlays on housing and urban utilities in the annual development budgets in the pre-revolutionary period. In 1962 only LD 3.5 million were expended. The

figure peaked at only LD 42.1 million in 1967 and the average annual outlay in the 1962-69 period was a mere LD 20.7 million, a trifling amount when set against the magnitude of the problem.

The heavy emphasis placed on housing by the revolutionary government is immediately evident from the greatly enhanced allocations to housing in development budgets. The figure grew steadily from LD 37.5 million in 1970 to a massive LD 170 million in 1977. In the first eight years of the revolution a total of LD 783.8 million were spent on housing, almost five times more than in the eight years preceding it.

The housing statistics are as impressive as the expenditure would lead one to expect. In the first six years of Libya's revolutionary era no less than 110,212 housing units were erected and the annual average rate of construction was five times what it had been before the revolution. The rate of house construction outstripped even that in advanced western countries. In 1974, for example, no less than 13 housing units were built for every thousand Libyans. By 1978, nine years after the revolution, 148,626 housing units had been completed, half as many as Libya's total in 1969. And the last shanty dwelling had been ceremoniously burned in 1976.

The bare statistics on housing develop-

ment in the Libyan Jamahiriya are impressive in their own right. But what they don't reveal is the quality of the new buildings. The rural housing programme, for example, involves the establishment of fully integrated villages, each with a full range of utilities. In the two Libyan development plans a total of LD 60 million was allocated for the establishment of thirteen such villages. Examples include Bir al Ghanam, Ash Shakikah and Bani Walid. Amongst the most recent is Wadi Majnin, which now has 451 new houses, a health centre, a supermarket, a mosque, two schools as well as internal roads and parks. The village, on which work started last year, covers more than 100 hectares and will be completed around the end of this year.

Integrated planning has also featured in the urban developments. A notable example is at Misrata on the coast east of Tripoli, where the housing programme represents a novel attempt to combine advanced building techniques with architecture reflecting traditional ways of life. The new houses in each of the ten new districts are being built in single or double storeys and incorporate walled courtyards and gardens, thus allowing families which adhere to traditional customs to move about their own homes in privacy. The houses are built close together in the typical style of Islamic residential quarters. In this way, community spirit is encouraged while protection is afforded against wind, dust and heat. The cost of the first phase is estimated at \$1,290 million, a figure that includes the cost of a new city centre with administrative buildings, a town hall, a 400 bed hospital, museums, libraries, exhibition halls and sports facilities. The importance of the Misrata development lies in the example it provides of how western building design and town plans, so alien to the Muslim world and way of life, can be dispensed with in favour of architecture that blends more harmoniously with traditional themes and lifestyles.

As significant as the rapid development of Libya's housing stock has been the concepts of home ownership introduced since the proclamation of the Jamahiriya — 'state of the masses' — in 1977. In March 1978 the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress issued Resolution Four, which set out new guidelines for home ownership. It stipulates that all Libyan families have the right to own one home and no one may own more than one, with certain exceptions: widows whose only source of income is rent, and families with at least one son over 18 years of age.

Tenancies were thus abolished at a stroke and tenants became the owners of the properties they had formerly rented. Understandably Resolution Four proved highly popular, although the redistribution did not mean that the former tenants received their homes as an outright grant. The new owners have a mortgage, repaid in monthly instalments, which is calculated on the basis of the size of family

Housing action programme

IN THE first years of the revolution, the housing action programme constituted six main projects. First there was the project for medium-sized houses and by the end of 1973 a total of 8,111 such houses had been completed at a cost of £77 million. The new units were widely distributed. The Tripoli and Benghazi regions received 940 and 1,224 respectively while other localities to benefit were Gharyan, Zawia, Khoms, Misrata, Jebel Akhdar and Derna.

The second project, launched in 1970, was for urgent housing and involved the erection of 928 units at a cost of £4.5 million. The scheme was completed in 1973, with the housing distributed in the regions of Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna and Sebha.

The largest project, however, was that for 29,106 units of public housing, to be completed at a cost of £217.4 million. Contracts for the first stage were concluded in 1971, for the construction of 10,822 units costing £82.5 million. The following year saw contracts secured for the second stage, 18,284 units costing £132.5 million. Associated utilities added £21.1 million to the cost of the first two stages. Then a third stage was announced, involving a further 3,735 units at a cost of £36.6 million.

Housing in the rural areas and in the remote Sebha region, deep in the Sahara, presented special problems and were each felt to merit special projects. During 1972 and 1973, contracts were concluded for 198 rural housing units in Qarah Bolly and Al Hadaba Al Khadra, costing £1.2 million while a further 579 units were planned for the Wadi Tilal and the Jarf projects at a cost of £10.5 million. By the tenth anniversary of the revolution contracts covered 13,165 units at a cost of LD 161 million and by the end of 1978 8,885 units had been completed. In Sebha, meanwhile, where housing conditions had been particularly poor,

income. But mortgage repayments usually amount to a third of the former rent and those with a family income of less than \$190 pay nothing. The property, meanwhile, is deliberately under-valued for purposes of purchase—often by as much as thirty or forty per cent. At the same time, the former landlords received compensation for the loss of their investments.

The dispossession of landlords was acclaimed by Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi in September 1979 when, speaking on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, he declared, 'The house belongs to the occupier. There is no freedom for a man who lives in another's house, whether he pays rent or not.' This was in line with the principles set forth in his *Green Book*, which sets out the bases of Libya's

contracts were awarded for the construction of 10,639 units at a cost of LD 100 million and by the end of 1978 6,561 had been completed.

The last of the six programmes involved the introduction of pre-fabricated housing units. Two factories for the construction of such housing were established at a combined cost of £59.6 million, one in Tripoli, opened in 1974, the other in Benghazi, opened in 1973. Each had a production capacity of between four and eight units per day and by the tenth year of the revolution more than 6,000 units had been produced. Half these constituted a £35.2 million order for the Bouateni area of Benghazi.

Side by side with state-sponsored projects, the new government encouraged the private sector to play a full role in developing the country's housing resources. Low income families were enabled to obtain low-interest loans from the Real Estate Bank, covering the total cost of the home. Citizens preferring to buy a ready-built house could obtain 90 per cent mortgages if their income was less than LD 6,000 per year. In addition, low interest loans were available to construction companies wishing to undertake building projects. Of the 148,626 housing units completed by the end of 1978, no less than 62 per cent were built by the private sector.

Under the Transformation Plan of 1976-80, which succeeded the 1973-75 Development Plan, there was no slowing of the pace of housing development. Again, the action programme was divided into a number of separate projects. The largest, the public housing project, sought to construct 36,500 new homes while an industrial housing project aimed at providing 30,000 houses for workers in the oil, electricity and other industrial sectors. The Sebha and rural projects, meanwhile, were continued.

development programme: 'Man's freedom is lacking if somebody else controls what he needs. Need causes exploitation. The house is a basic need of both the individual and the family. Therefore, it should not be owned by others.'

There could be no more eloquent testimony to the application of this dicta and to the priority accorded to housing in the Libyan Jamahiriya than the monument built to mark the First of September Revolution. It isn't a statue or a commemorative plaque. It is a giant new housing project for over 100,000 people, 3 per cent of the country's entire population, on the edge of the capital. Specially designed, well-built, brightly coloured in blues, greens and reds, the project will be completed in about a year's time.

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's ambitious transformation plan which is channelling billions of dollars into a development programme aimed at thrusting the country into the industrial age, and establishing a comprehensive welfare state has provided great opportunities for British expertise and technology. In this special report we examine the trade links between Britain and the Jamahiriya.



Tripoli port: Gateway to the Jamahiriya for British exports

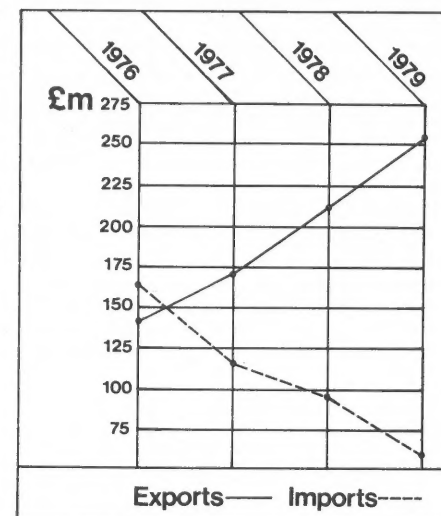
Britain's trading partnership with Libya

WHEN SIR Anthony Acland flew recently to Tripoli to discuss political relations between Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya he was undoubtedly aware of the importance of Libya to the British economy. Links between the two countries since the Al Fateh Revolution have rarely been good as a result of the British government's reluctance to come to terms with the new revolutionary authority, and Whitehall's inability to adjust its foreign policy to the new realities of the late twentieth century. In particular, relations have been strained by the legacy of ties between Britain and the old regime in Libya.

Yet while British political leaders have failed to come to terms with the Revolution, commerce and industry in the United Kingdom have moved to forge strong trading links, although British policies have often appeared deliberately designed to ensure that British goods do not reach the Libyan markets.

Despite the political obstacles placed in the way of good trading relations by Whitehall, trade between the two countries has flourished, notably in Britain's favour. The prospects for British companies to expand their trade with the Jamahiriya are considerable, although little encouragement comes from British politicians. Unlike the majority of industrialised western countries, Britain still declines to show at the Tripoli International Fair 'as a consequence of a decision by the Department of Trade not to support British companies wishing to do so. Additionally, Britain follows the American line in placing a boycott of the sale of certain goods and technology to Libya, despite the employment which the banned contracts could provide for British workers.

Few British people understand the level of trade which exists between the two countries, and the scale of sales each year of British goods, technology and services



UK trade with Libya 1976-79

to the Jamahiriya, involving major contracts with companies such as Plessey, Marconi, the Post Office and Massey Ferguson. Between 1976 and 1979 Britain's export sales to the Jamahiriya almost doubled in value with a rise in the four year period from £134.647 million to £253.153 million.

This burgeoning of British exports to the Jamahiriya is reflected in Libya's rank amongst the Arab states as a market for British goods. In 1976 Libya was in sixth place, after Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Iraq and Kuwait. In 1977 and 1978 the Jamahiriya attained fifth rank and in 1979 she was the UK's fourth ranking market in the Arab world.

The growth of the Libyan market for British goods is also reflected in the increasing proportion of British sales to the Arab world taken by Libya. In 1976 the Jamahiriya accounted for 6.6 per cent of all British exports to Arab states, a figure that had risen to 7.6 per cent by 1979. And on the world level, Libya took 0.52 per cent of

Britain's total exports in 1976 but this had grown to 0.59 per cent by 1979.

British imports from the Middle East, although still significant, have declined as the UK has developed her own North Sea oil reserves. In 1976 nine per cent of total British imports came from the Arab states but by last year this had declined to 6.4 per cent.

The Libyan Jamahiriya, as a major oil producing state, has played a critical role in the UK's trade with the Arab world, although because Libya's high quality oil is very similar to that in Britain's North Sea fields the trading relationship of the two states has undergone rapid changes in recent years. In 1976 Libya was the UK's sixth-ranking Arab supplier, after Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. The following year the Jamahiriya's rank as a supplier rose to fifth as Qatar's exports to Britain dropped off sharply. Libya fell back to sixth rank position in 1978 with the growth of Egypt as a major exporter to the UK, and fell in 1979 to seventh place because of a rapid growth of Algeria's exports to the UK.

But while Libya's rank as a source of Arab goods for the UK remained relatively stable, the value of her exports declined sharply in the 1976-79 period. From a value of £166.608m in 1976, Libyan exports to the UK, almost exclusively crude oil, fell to £141.472m in 1977, to £98.230m in 1978 and £62.167m in 1979. British imports from the Jamahiriya thus fell by two-thirds over the four-year period and from providing 0.53 per cent of the UK's total imports from all sources in 1976, Libya in 1979 was the origin of only 0.13 per cent. The decline is also underlined by the sharp reduction of Libya's exports to the UK expressed as a proportion of total Arab exports to Britain. While the figure stood at almost 6 per cent in 1976, it declined steadily to reach only 2 per cent in 1979.

The result of the twin trends of increas-

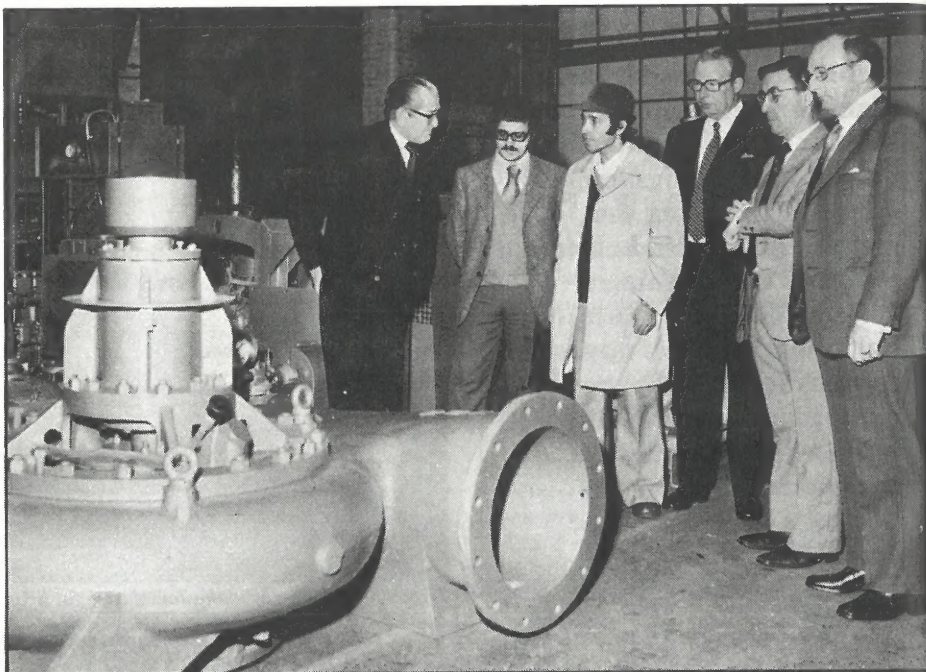
ing Libyan imports from the UK on the one hand, and decreasing British imports from the Jamahiriya on the other, has been an increasingly favourable position for Britain in the balance of trade between the two states. In 1976, Britain's trade with Libya was in deficit to the tune of £31.961m. The following year a surplus of about the same magnitude was recorded and this leapt to £116.467m in 1978 and £190.986m in 1979.

If Libya's exports are dominated by a single commodity, oil, her imports show much greater variety and reflect the drive for the diversification of her economy and the development of her infrastructural facilities. With the 1976-80 Transformation Plan investments set at LD9,250 million, a 23 per cent increase over the original figure, the Jamahiriya offers British suppliers immense scope for sales of goods for use in the country's development programme. Indeed, according to *Middle East Economic Digest*, Libya was the fourth largest investor in development contracts in the third quarter of last year, accounting for 10.17 per cent of total spending in the Middle East. Major investment sectors were shown as housing, industry and telecommunications.

The Jamahiriya's development priorities are reflected in the breakdown of British imports by category. In 1978 specialised machinery sales totalled £31.8 million, 15 per cent of total British exports to Libya. In second place came road vehicles, sales of which valued £25.4 million. Third came sales of clothing worth £20.2 million and in fourth place came £19.8 million worth of general industrial machinery and equipment. Almost as important, at £19.5 million and £19.3 million, respectively, were metal manufactures and telecommunications equipment. British exports of electrical machinery totalled £11.1 million in 1978 and exports of power generating machinery were valued at £9.4 million. Thus, if one excludes clothing, the seven most important categories of British exports constituted capital goods for use in Libya's development programme. Exports of goods of these seven categories together totalled £136.3 million, accounting for 64 per cent of all British exports to the Libyan Jamahiriya in 1978.

Contracts

A look behind the barren statistics at the types of project in which British companies have been involved in the Libyan Jamahiriya underscores the significant contributions they are making to the Revolution's ambitious programme of socio-economic development. In March it was reported that Foxboro-Yoxall of the UK had won a \$2.2 million order to supply a process control system for the planned 330,000 ton per annum ethylene plant at the Ras Lanouf refinery and petrochemical complex on the Gulf of Sirte. At the same time it emerged that GEC Electrical Projects, GECOS Aviation Division, had in the last 16-18 months won orders total-



A Libyan trade delegation examines British equipment

ling £750,000 in value for equipment at Tripoli International Airport. These new orders followed a £1.5 million contract for the supply of ground lighting equipment. In January this year, meanwhile, a £1.5 million contract to equip two pumping stations being constructed as part of the Benghazi drainage scheme was won by Sigmund Pulsometer Projects, part of the SPP Group of the UK.

More recently, at the end of May, it was reported that Long Products of the UK had a \$1 million order for anti corrosion tapes to be used at the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex. At the same time it was disclosed that an order, worth \$846,079, for about 1,000 tonnes of foundation equipment had been placed with BSP International Foundations of the UK by Turkey's Kozanoglu-Carusoglu Construction Company. The materials will be used for bridge foundations on Tripoli's new corniche ring road, being built by the Turkish firm for the capital's General Ports and Lights Authority.

But if British firms are playing a significant role in supplying goods to Libya, their real forte is in the supply of services. UK concerns currently undertake about half of all the consultancy work in Libya and are making a very significant contribution to Britain's invisible export earnings. In February, for example, the British-based consulting engineers Ewbank and Partners won a contract for the design and consultancy for a power and desalination plant to be built on the Gulf of Sirte. In April the British Sulphur Corporation secured a contract for a marketing study on plans to expand ammonia production by using natural gas. The contract, which was awarded by the Industrial Research Centre in Tripoli, is to establish which downstream industries could benefit most from increased ammonia output. The study is to be completed next year. The British Sulphur Corporation had already com-

pleted this year a feasibility study for a phosphate fertiliser plant to meet Libya's domestic requirements. That study was undertaken for the Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretariat.

Where British concerns lose out is in the field of contracting, in which they face very strong competition from the Italians, French, West Germans, Yugoslavs and Japanese. Reviewing the performance of British firms in the preceding twelve months, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 18th May 1979 that the UK, which was once a leading contractor, had won only \$113.7 million of work.

Recent reports from the National Westminster Bank and Lloyds Bank emphasised that the new brand of socialist development introduced in Libya has had no adverse effect on the country's substantial trade with the western world and that its 11 per cent growth rate augured well for exporters. But whether or not Britain will continue to do as well in the Libyan market as at present, let alone continue to increase its penetration, is open to some doubt. Britain is feeling particularly acutely the recession facing the industrialised western states and inflation is now running at over 20 per cent. At the same time, the pound sterling is very strong, making British exports less competitive. While Libya's crucial importance to the British economy is beyond doubt, the question is whether British firms will increasingly price themselves out of the market.

This very point was stressed by British Trade Under-secretary Mr Reginald Eyre, speaking on 2nd April on his return from a visit to Tunisia, Bahrain and Oman. British exporters who reaped the benefits of increased trade with the newly rich Middle Eastern oil countries in the 1970s, he said, should keep their prices competitive and look to delivery dates in order to hang on to their market share.

Rapid growth in petrochemicals sector as Libya plans 44 new factories

THE PETROCHEMICAL sector is the focus of the Jamahiriya's ambitious programme of industrial development, accounting for most of the 15 per cent growth of industrial output achieved last year. 1979 was the first year in which the country exported oil-based products, with shipments totalling 195,000 tons. This trend looks set to continue into the new decade.

The current emphasis is on completion of the petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf on the Gulf of Sirte about mid-way between Misrata and Benghazi and recent weeks have seen a spate of new contracts related to the project's development. South Korea's Hyundai Construction Company was invited in June to sign a letter of intent to construct the port for the petrochemicals complex. The firm submitted four proposals for the port to the Zawiyah Refinery Company, and the port will take between two and four years to build, depending on the proposal chosen. Consultant for the port, which is expected to cost about \$350 million, is Rendel, Palmer and Tritton of the UK.

Letters of intent have also been received by two Japanese companies, Nippon Kokan and Marubeni Corporation, for the construction of a 611 kilometre pipeline to link the Messala oilfields and the Ras Lanouf refinery. The contract, to be signed formally soon, is worth \$162 million and will also involve the construction of four generating stations and three oil storage tanks. The client is the Arabian Gulf Oil Company (Agoco).

Two UK firms have also benefited in recent weeks from orders for the Ras Lanouf complex. AEG-Telefunken (UK)'s engineering division has an order worth more than \$1,044,000 to supply 380 V motor control centres and other equipment for the ethylene plant at Ras Lanouf, while Long Products has an order worth about \$1 million for anti-corrosion tapes to be used on plant at the complex. The latter order was placed by Impresa Ingegneria Lodigiani, which is undertaking site preparations for the scheme's 220,000 barrel a day refinery. Saipem of Italy won a \$40 million contract earlier this year for the refinery's first phase, which should be completed by September 1981.

Marsa Brega, on the coast about 125 km east of Ras Lanouf remains, however, the centre of the Jamahiriya's existing petro-



Petrochemicals: A feature of the Jamahiriya's modern industry

chemical industry and recent weeks have seen two developments here, one affecting the physical plant, the other the pattern of ownership. In May the Libyan authorities moved to acquire a 51 per cent share in Esso Standard Libya's liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant. An agreement on participation terms is to be ratified soon as LNG export prices are being renegotiated. *Middle East Economic Digest* reports that the plant was excluded from 1974 legislation which gave the state a 51 per cent share in the US company's other Libyan interests. About 65 per cent of the plant's 100,000 barrel per day exports go to Italy and the rest to Spain.

Also in late May it was disclosed that a \$66 million contract to supply 110,000 tons of 34 inch steel pipe had been won by Italsider of Italy. The order is to be completed by mid-1981 and is to be used for the Misrata to Marsa Brega gas pipeline.

All these developments followed a report that the British Sulphur Corporation had been contracted by the Industrial Research Centre in Tripoli to conduct a marketing study on plans to expand ammonia production by using natural gas.

The study, to be completed next year, is to determine which downstream industries could benefit most from increased ammonia output. The British Sulphur Corporation has already completed a feasibility study this year for a phosphate fertiliser plant to meet domestic requirements. The proposed plant's capacity would be about 300,000 tonnes per year.

The significance of petrochemicals in Libya's development programme was underlined in late May with an announcement by the General People's Committee for Planning that of 44 factories to be established shortly, 14 would be for chemicals and petrochemicals. Ten would be for food, four for timber and paper, four for building materials and five for textiles and leather goods.

Good wheat yield reported as agricultural output rises

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT has been accorded special emphasis in the Jamahiriya, with the aims of reducing the current dependence on imported food, checking the drift of population from the rural areas into the rapidly expanding cities, and making Libya self-sufficient in food production. Impressive results have been achieved, with agricultural output rising by 8.5 per cent last year and development contracts awarded this year augur well for the future.

In late June it was reported that Edilveneta of Italy had begun work on a \$33.8 million contract for civil works on a major irrigation scheme at Bani Walid, about 200 km south of Tripoli. At the same time it was disclosed that Montedil, also of Italy, had won an \$11.8 million contract to build agricultural link roads.

Earlier, in mid June, it was announced that West German, Italian and East European firms were preparing tenders to build 42 poultry farms, worth a total of \$80-90 million. The farms will be mainly in the Tripoli and Benghazi areas but some will be located in the south. They will range in size from five to twenty houses, each holding 15,000 chickens.

Another recent development in the sphere of agriculture was the conclusion of a co-operation agreement on 16th June between the Libyan Foreign Secretary and his Mali counterpart, which included provision for the establishment of a joint cattle and meat company and a joint agricultural company. In another recent development the Jamahiriya concluded an agricultural co-operation agreement with the Soviet Union.

Agricultural output looks set to continue its rapid growth rate. The Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA) reported on 20th May an excellent wheat harvest on farms in the south, with yields up to a record 8 t/ha.

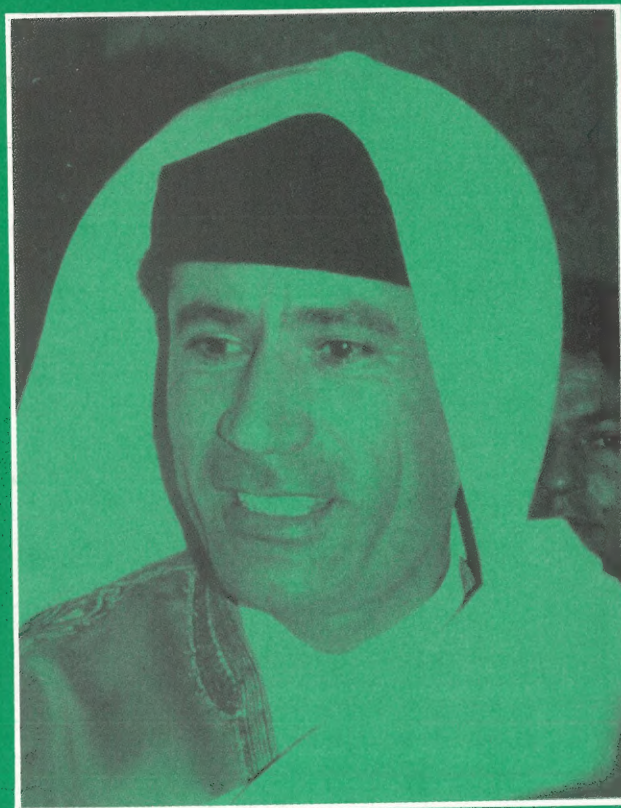
New health centres will enhance medical care

LIBYA IS pressing ahead with its programme of health care and in mid June it was reported that a \$4.2 million contract to build a medical office and three health centres at Sabratha, west of Tripoli, had been won by South Korea's Samsung Construction Company. Italy's Edilveneta, meanwhile, is currently negotiating for a contract to build six new medical centres in the Libyan capital.

The equipment available at Libya's hospitals is also being enhanced. An X-ray brain scanner had been installed at Benghazi's Al Jala hospital in May and in early June it was announced that the Austrian hospital furniture manufacturer Bukowsky had a \$1.3 million order from the Health Secretariat to supply 980 height-adjustable, tilting hospital beds and accessories.

The Jamahiriya's Planning Secretary Mr Musa Abu Freiwa, addressing the General People's Congress in January, reported that between 1975 and 1979 there had been a 40 per cent increase in the number of hospital beds in Libya, with a rise from 1,080 to 13,418 and the figure is planned to grow to 14,166 by the end of this year. He also reported that the ratio of doctors to people had risen from 1:975 in 1975 to 1:769 in 1979.

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BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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